

SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

MAY 31, 1848.



BOSTON :
PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.
1848.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY held its Seventh Annual Meeting, according to appointment, at the Tremont Temple, in Boston, May 31, 1848, at 3 o'clock, P. M. The President being absent on account of ill health, the Rev. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D., one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair, and, after prayer by the Rev. Dr. WATERBURY, of Boston, opened the meeting with appropriate remarks.

Extracts from the Annual Report were read by the Secretary.

The Rev. WILLIAM McLAIN, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, then delivered an eloquent address in support of the claims of Colonization on Christians and Philanthropists.

After the benediction, by the Rev. G. W. BLAGDEN, the members of the Society were called to order for business.

The Treasurer's Report was presented and accepted.

The Report of the Board of Managers, of which extracts had been read, was accepted, and ordered to be printed under the direction of the Board.

The following Officers were elected for the ensuing year, viz.

PRESIDENT.

HON. SIMON GREENLEAF.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

REV. LEONARD WOODS, D. D.	REV. WILLIAM M. ROGERS.
REV. E. S. GANNETT, D. D.	REV. WILLIAM HAGUE.
REV. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D.	REV. CHARLES BROOKS.
R. A. CHAPMAN, Esq.	REV. B. B. EDWARDS, D. D.

SECRETARY, GENERAL AGENT, AND TREASURER.

REV. JOSEPH TRACY.

AUDITOR.

ELIPHALET KIMBALL.

MANAGERS.

REV. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D.	T. R. MARVIN.
REV. G. W. BLAGDEN.	JAMES HAYWARD.
DR. J. V. C. SMITH.	JAMES C. DUNN.
HENRY EDWARDS.	HON. ABRAHAM R. THOMPSON.
ALBERT FEARING.	

ANNUAL REPORT.

To the great cause of Colonization generally, the year now ending has been a season of unexampled prosperity. To this auxiliary society it has been a time of affliction, and of embarrassment. Early in the year, it pleased God to take from us our excellent agent, the Rev. CALEB J. TENNEY, D. D., who, on the 28th of September, after a short illness, was removed to a better world. His agency for the American Colonization Society commenced in 1840, while engaged in other agencies. His commission from this Society was dated June 11, 1843; and from that date, he devoted himself exclusively to our service. It is not too much to say that during his term of service, and in a great measure by the influence of his labors, public sentiment in respect to Colonization was revolutionized; from being decidedly adverse, it became favorable; and that not only in Massachusetts, but extensively in other States. His laborious faithfulness, his sound judgment, and his truly Christian spirit, are well known; but few know the amount of his silent influence in disarming prejudice, in extricating our cause from controversies in which it ought never to have been engaged, and inducing men to consider it in the light of its own merits. In this respect, his example, advice and influence in various forms were beneficially felt throughout the nation; and the result has been, a degree of favorable opinion and kind feeling otherwise unattainable. Among his last labors, was his attendance on the annual meeting of the "General Association of Massachusetts," where he was cordially received, and where, at their session on the 23d of June, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"Whereas, the American Colonization Society has established, on the western coast of Africa, the Colony of Liberia, which, notwithstanding some errors of management and some unavoidable calamities, has been, on the whole, successful and useful, furnishing a satisfactory home to several thousands of free colored people and emancipated slaves, excluding slavery from the soil which it occupies, expelling the slave trade from several hundred miles of coast, preventing

wars, and promoting the extension of civilization and Christianity among the natives ;

“ And whereas, though the free people of color in the United States have an undoubted right to remain in this their native land, and to receive kind, courteous and Christian treatment, yet, as their actual condition is in many respects disadvantageous, and, notwithstanding all that they or we can do, is likely to remain so for an indefinite time to come, while such of them as are of suitable character may improve their condition and increase their usefulness by emigrating to the land of their fathers—

“ *Resolved*, That such of them as desire to emigrate ought to be encouraged, and, if they need it, aided in their enterprise.

“ And whereas we are informed that several hundreds of slaves have the offer of freedom on condition of emigrating to Liberia, and that the said slaves are desirous to avail themselves of that offer—

“ *Resolved*, That while we re-affirm all that we have said in former years, condemning the institution of slavery and deprecating its continuance ; and while we do not admit that any condition ought to be annexed to the offer of freedom ; yet, in the judgment of this Association, such slaves as have the said conditional offer and choose to accept it, ought to receive such assistance as they need for that purpose.

“ *Resolved*, That it be suggested, as heretofore, to pastors and churches friendly to this work, to aid it by taking up collections in behalf of the funds of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, on or near the anniversary of our National Independence, or in such other way, or at such other time, as each may find most convenient.”

The Board were not long in selecting the Rev. M. G. WHEELER as successor to Dr. Tenney : but it was some months before he could so far release himself from other engagements as to accept the appointment, and not until after the close of our financial year, that he was able to enter fully upon the duties of his office. Thus, except for about one quarter, which, for various reasons, might be expected to be the least productive portion of the year, we have had no collecting agent. Owing to this deficiency ; to the severe pecuniary pressure, which, for several months, has diminished the ability of our friends to give ; and to the delay in the settlement of the estate of Oliver Smith, which has made it impracticable yet to realize his last subscription of \$500 ; the whole amount of our available means for eleven months, ending on the last day of April, was only \$2,449 32. The financial year commencing on the first of the present month, has opened upon us with brighter prospects. During the last half of the month, Mr. Wheeler has collected about \$300. From \$100 to \$200 is known to be in the hands of local agents and auxiliaries. The \$500 due from the estate of Oliver Smith will probably be paid during the year. A legacy of \$1,000 will also become due, of the payment of which there is no doubt. We have already, therefore, in cash and available claims,

nearly \$2,000 towards the next annual account. We have also in our favor, the results of another year's influence on public sentiment, increasing, by at least 100 per cent, the amount of desire in the community to afford us effectual support.

Meanwhile, there have been changes in the affairs of the Parent Society, and of Liberia, which demand and encourage a great increase of effort.

The fund of \$20,000 for the purchase of territory having been previously raised, the negotiations for purchase have been carried forward with energy, and with gratifying success. The Grand Cape Mount territory, the northernmost which we wish to acquire, has not yet been secured. All the rest has been purchased, except six small tracts, belonging to different tribes, and amounting in all to about forty miles of coast. Of these six tribes, four have, by treaty, put themselves, under the protection of the Republic; and with two of them, negotiations for the purchase of their lands are in progress. Among the last purchases was New Sesters, the only remaining slave mart on more than 400 miles of coast. Notwithstanding all the costly vigilance of the British and American cruisers, hundreds of slaves had been shipped from that port within a year. A thousand dollars a month would not pay the expense of blockading the port with the smallest vessel in our squadron. By the payment of two thousand dollars, we have extinguished the slave trade there forever.

The slave traders here, however, though they profess to have given up the traffic, appear to be acting with bad faith. In the latter part of March, a cargo, estimated at 450, was shipped from Tradetown, doubtless by these very men. Tradetown is a place yet unpurchased, only five or six miles south of New Sesters. It was formerly a notorious slave mart; but it is not known that any slaves have been shipped there for more than twelve years, till now. The British sloop *Rapid* had for some time been blockading this port, and had three times driven away this very schooner, and when the schooner sailed with the slaves on board, she was so near that she received information of the fact and sailed in pursuit in about three hours. These facts are instructive. They show that slavers can elude any blockade that is likely to be established, and that the natives will trade with them whenever they can. And they can do it, wherever the restraining influence of Liberia does not prevent. These traders had been allowed to remain at New Sesters, to settle their affairs, on condition of abstaining from the slave trade. They will now be broken up, and Tradetown must be brought under Liberian jurisdiction.

But the great event of the year has been, the organization of the **REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**, under its new constitution. Of the measures

leading to this result, and the reasons for them, an account has been given in former Reports. On the 26th of July, after a laborious session of 21 days, the Convention chosen for that purpose completed and signed the new Constitution of the Republic, and a Declaration of National Independence; and on the 24th of August, the Flag of the Republic was raised, with appropriate religious ceremonies and public rejoicings. On the 3d of January, 1848, the legislature, elected under the new constitution, convened; His Excellency J. J. Roberts, who had been Governor for six years under the former constitution, delivered his inaugural address as First President of the Republic, and the new Government was fully organized.*

We have looked forward to this event with some solicitude, but without fear as to the final result. The government, being human, will doubtless commit errors, and involve the nation in difficulties. The errors of government will produce suffering among the people, and that suffering will lead to their correction. That they know enough to govern themselves, has been proved by experience. For the last seven years, under their former constitution, they did govern themselves, making and executing all their own laws; and though the Directors of the Colonization Society had a legal right to veto all their acts, it was not found necessary to exercise that right in a single instance. They are numerous enough to constitute a nation. There are in Germany, eighteen sovereign states, neither of which has so large a population, and four sovereign states which, all put together, have only about the same number of inhabitants.

The religious condition of Liberia is highly encouraging. According to the census of 1843, there were then in the colony 1,483 communicants, of whom 116 were recaptured Africans, and 353 other converted natives. Of these last, 224 were at the Methodist missionary stations at Heddington and Robertsville, where there had recently been a very general religious excitement. The greater part of these have since fallen away; and the Methodist brethren there have become convinced that many of them were admitted prematurely and injudiciously. This gave rise to the statement, which has been somewhat extensively circulated, that the accounts of the conversion of natives had been found to be false. It does not appear, however, that the apostasy extended to the other Methodist congregations, or to the Baptist churches, nearly all of which had some native members. Some two or three years ago, the Baptist churches, especially in Bassa county, were considerably strengthened by the addition of new converts. And since last September, an interesting revival has been going on, as the result of which 123 members were added to six Baptist churches in five months. The number

* See Appendix I.

added to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches has not yet been reported to us, but is probably equally great. Among these converts, are many of the "Recaptives" of the slave ship "Pons." We have no doubt, therefore, that without counting the increase of pious persons by immigration since the census, the number of communicants is now greater than in 1843; and the accounts which have reached us, indicate greater caution than formerly in the admission of converts, and thus encourage the hope that fewer of them will fall away.

As these recaptives do not constitute a heathen community by themselves, but are individual inmates of Christian families, the labor that has resulted in their conversion will not be counted, by some, as "missionary labor." But, by whatever name it may be called, it is labor that extends the good influence of Christianity, that increases the number of Christians, and diminishes the number of heathen in the world. It is a kind of labor which must increase and spread as the work of Colonization advances, and which, if carried far enough, must in the end Christianize all Africa.

The emigrants sent out during the year have been 450. Of these, 40 sailed from Baltimore, in the *Liberia Packet*, September 3, 1847; 129 from New Orleans, in the *Nehemiah Rich*, January 7, 1848; in the *Amazon*, from Baltimore, February 5, 44; in the *Liberia Packet*, from Baltimore, April 11, 138; and in the *Col. Howard*, from Savannah, May 6, 99. Of these, about 350 were slaves, emancipated for colonization.

Thirty-five of them were emancipated by Henry Patterson, Esq., of Baltimore, who not only gave them their freedom, but paid the expense of their emigration. To most of the others, freedom had been bequeathed on condition of their emigrating, with some provision for the expense of their emigration and settlement in Liberia. But in respect to the greater part of them, the provision has proved insufficient, or has been absorbed in lawsuits, or otherwise squandered by those who had charge of the estates, and the burden has been mostly or wholly thrown upon the Society.

It will be seen that nearly all this expense has been incurred by the Parent Society since the commencement of this present year, 1848; and there are 285 others, to whom a passage is promised before its close. These are, nearly all, slaves whose freedom depends on emigration. About 200 of them have been entitled to their freedom, and to have all the expenses of their emigration and settlement in Africa paid, for more than ten years; but they have been kept out of it till the present time, and the property which should have defrayed their expenses is irrecoverably gone.

There are nearly 300 others, to whom freedom has been bequeathed,

but who are detained in like manner by lawsuits, and for whom the Society is liable to be called upon to provide at any time. And it is highly probable that other demands for aid will be presented before the close of the year.

The emigration of emancipated slaves for the year 1848, counting only those already gone and those to whom a passage has been promised, will be much greater than that of any former year. This arises, in part, from the release of about 230 who have long been detained by litigation. But leaving those out of the account, the number is still greater than that of any former year, and will doubtless be increased before the year ends. There is evidently, among masters who regard Colonization with any favor, an increased disposition to emancipate. This is not only indicated by the facts already stated, but is conclusively proved by numerous other facts which are in our possession, but which would be out of place in this Report. Among the causes of this change in the South, is the information they have received, of a change in favor of Colonization at the North. The impression has been extensively made, that if a southern man, instead of selling a slave for three or four or five hundred dollars, will give him his freedom, the North will do its part towards raising fifty dollars, to be expended in placing him where freedom will be more valuable to him than any where else on earth. There are many who do not *feel* able, after giving up all their slaves, to give also the cost of colonizing them; and there are some whose whole property is not enough to defray that expense. There are others, whose hearts are moved by learning that some friends of freedom at the North are willing to do a tenth part as much as they ask the slave holder to do. Other causes, we know, are in operation; but we know that this new born expectation of help from the North has had an important influence. The correspondence concerning some of those sent out this year, proves it. But for the increased favor shown to Colonization at the North, they would still have been slaves.

If the emancipation of all slaves is so desirable as every northern man believes it to be, the emancipation of 500 or 1,000 a year is in itself a great good. It is worth 500 or 1,000 times as much as the freedom of one man; or rather, of one man and his posterity. This great good we achieve, not by force, or by stealth, or by any method which excites malignant passions. The slave gets possession of his freedom by the free act of the master; and whether the master, in bestowing it, acts from his sense of justice, or from the impulses of generosity, or from both combined, the transaction is well adapted to establish amicable relations between them,—to excite in both, feelings which will make them better men. It violates no law, just or unjust. It inter-

feres with no rights, real or pretended. Occurring in the midst of slave holders, it presents emancipation before them as an act in every way amiable and of happy tendency. It does this, 500 or 1,000 times over, annually. The North and the South unite in doing it, and are thereby put into better relations to each other. In every way, and on all parties, its influence is beneficial; and though it accomplishes but a small part of the work that ought to be done, yet that small part is of vast importance in itself, and a state of feeling is promoted highly favorable to the best accomplishment of the whole.

It is of the first importance, that this growing spirit of emancipation be not checked by discouragement. These expectations of help from the North must not be disappointed. The Society must be enabled to fulfil its promise to the hundreds of slaves, whose freedom must be secured or lost before the end of this year. To them, the question, what we shall contribute, is a question of unspeakable importance. Their freedom is in our hands, and they await our decision. If we enable the Society to redeem its pledges, they will be free, and a state of mind will be sustained and nourished at the South, which will ensure the cheerful emancipation of other hundreds and thousands.

Who will decide this question in favor of the perpetual, hopeless slavery of these suppliants? Who will force the Society to forfeit its pledge, and from the stern necessity of a bankrupt treasury, to look on and see them sold at auction to settle up estates? Who will throw a death-chill over the kind thoughts tending to emancipation in the heart of the master, by telling him to keep his slaves, for we will not help to better their condition? Master and slave both ask our aid; and our duty is the same as it would be, if both were personally before us, and we heard the master's offer of freedom with our own ears, and with our own eyes saw the anxious countenance and falling tear of the supplicating slave.

DONATIONS

To the Massachusetts Colonization Society, for eleven months, ending
April 30, 1848.

<i>Amherst</i> , L. Sweetser,	6 00	Friend,	2 00
Rev. Dr. Hitchcock,	2 00	Stephen W. Marsh,	2 00
W. S. Tyler,	2 00	Rev. S. H. Riddel,	2 00
Rev. Joel Tyler,	1 00	Dea. J. Bumstead,	2 00
E. Dickinson,	1 00	Isaac Means,	2 00
J. Ayres,	1 00	Cash,	1 00
William Kellogg,	50	N. C. Keep,	3 00
A. M. Colton,	1 00	George Colton,	2 00
S. F. Cutter,	2 00	R. N. Holman,	3 00
John Leland,	2 00	Cash,	1 00
John Rankin,	50	T. R. Marvin,	15 00
E. D. Hubbard,	1 00—20 00	Francis C. Lowell,	5 00
<i>Berlin</i> , Mrs. N. Babcock,	10 00	S. P. Fuller,	5 00
Henry Bliss,	1 00	Robert Hooper,	5 00
Dea. O. Sawyer,	5 00	William Gray,	5 00
Josiah Bride,	1 00	P. T. Homer,	5 00
A. B. Sawyer,	1 00	T. B. Wales,	5 00
Rev. Henry Adams,	50	Jonathan French,	5 00
Mrs. Sophia Adams,	1 00	James W. Smith, Jr.	5 00
Rebecca Whitcomb,	1 00—20 50	P. R. Southwick,	5 00
<i>Beverly</i> Rev. Mr. Flanders,	1 00	Moses Grant,	5 00
Capt. James Bryant,	20 00	Three others,	5 00
Contributions,	19 37	Anonymous,	10 00
Edward Stone,	2 00	A Lady,	1 25
Capt. Pickett,	2 00	James Hayward, Esq.	50 00
Mrs. Sarah Hooper,	10 00—51 37	A Lady,	5 00
<i>Bolton</i> , J. Forbush, of Boston,	5 00	A Non-resident,	10 00
James Fry,	2 00	Miss — Titcomb,	50
J. E. Fry,	1 00—1 00	Elizabeth Hamilton,	25
<i>Boston</i> , F. Jones,	2 00	Mrs. — Wheeler,	25
P. Frothingham,	2 00	Mrs. — Lord & Mrs. — Lord,	3 00
J. T. Brown,	2 00	Mrs. — Davis,	3 00
Alexander Fullerton,	5 00	Mrs. — Smith,	1 00
J. H. Wilkins & Co.	5 00	Six others,	2 00
I. Reed,	5 00	Dr. A. Southard, in med. b'ks,	15 00
William H. Prescott,	5 00	F. W. Newton,	10 00
Edward Cruft,	5 00	James C. Dunn, Esq.	25 00
J. Davis,	2 00	A Clergyman's Widow, non-	
Charles A. White,	5 00	resident,	50 00
A Friend,	5 00	E. A. Pearson, Esq.	20 00
Cyrus Alger,	5 00	Anonymous,	10 00—418 25
John Rayner,	5 00	<i>Canaan</i> , Ct. Mrs. S. F. Cowles,	1 00
A Friend,	5 00	<i>Chatham</i> , S. S. in Cong. ch.,	
Jacob Sleeper,	5 00	Books for Liberia,	18 00
P. Wetmore,	5 00	<i>Concord</i> , N. Brooks,	1 00
C. Caruth,	5 00	D. Shattuck,	2 00
Edward Crane,	5 00	N. Ball,	1 00
Nathaniel Francis,	5 00	J. M. Cheeney,	1 00
E. H. Robbins,	5 00	William Munroe,	5 00
Addison Gilmore,	5 00	Reuben Brown,	5 00
P. Clarke,	5 00	Elisha Tolman,	2 00
Hon. Daniel Safford,	5 00	John S. Keyes,	1 50
W. W. D.	2 00	Rev. B. Frost,	2 00
Wm. L. R.	2 00	Hon. S. Hoar,	10 00—30 50
H. D.	2 00	<i>Easthampton</i> , E. M. Wright,	5 00
H. H. Jones,	3 00	Edward Smith, Esq.	25 00—30 00

<i>Essex</i> , S.S. in books for Liberia,	30 00	Mrs. M. M. Haywood,	1 00
<i>Fryeburg</i> , Me, John W. Dana,	5 00	D. J. G. Metcalf,	1 00
Henry C. Buswell,	5 00	Nathan George,	2 00
Edward L. Osgood,	5 00—15 00	H. A. Aldrich,	1 00—9 50
<i>Granby</i> , Samuel Ayres, Esq.	5 00	<i>Milford</i> , Rev. Preston Pond,	1 00
<i>Great Barrington</i> , Rev. I. W.		W. M. Haywood,	50
Turner,	2 00	D. S. Godfrey,	1 00
Mrs. — Ives,	1 00	A. C. Mayhew,	50
Miss Mary Kellogg,	10 50	Clark Sumner,	1 00
Mark Rosseter,	1 00	Nancy Godfrey,	2 00
— Hopkins,	1 00	Mrs. Thayer,	35
C. Laflin,	2 00	P. Parkhurst,	1 00
A. C. Russell,	2 00	J. D. Seagrave,	1 60
— Newman,	1 00	W. C. Perry,	1 00
Dr. Hollenbeck,	50 00	Dr. Leland,	50
Cash,	1 00	Dexter Walker,	1 00
Col. — Ives,	2 00	E. Rockwood,	25
Dea. — Whiting,	1 00	S. Haynes,	25
Cash,	1 00	W. Miller,	25
— Sedgwick,	1 00	E. Alexander,	22
L. Manvel,	1 00—27 50	E. Chapin,	1 00
<i>Hatfield</i> , Levi Graves,	2 00	R. A. Cleaveland,	1 00—14 42
Dexter Allis,	1 00—3 00	<i>Milbury</i> , West, Simeon Waters,	30 00
<i>Haverhill</i> , Miss Lydia White,	10 00	Esq.	
<i>Hinsdale</i> , E. T. Nash,	1 00	<i>Milton</i> , Moses Webster, Esq.	35 00
Hon. C. H. Plunkett,	10 00	Joseph Rowe, Esq.	5 00—40 00
Lyman White,	1 00	<i>Newburyport</i> , Hon. W. B. Banister,	5 00
P. Emmons,	1 00	<i>Northampton</i> , A. Lyman, Esq.	10 00
N. Emmons,	1 00	<i>North Brookfield</i> , Thomas Snell, Jr.	1 50
— Parrish,	1 00	<i>North Danners</i> , Mrs. J. Adams,	5 00
C. L. Kittredge,	1 00	Mrs. L. W. Preston,	1 00
Henry Putnam,	00	Mrs. S. Putnam,	50
Joseph White,	00	Mrs. E. P. Kettelle,	1 00
Robert Millikan,	5 00	Mrs. L. A. Swan,	50
Dea. — Hinsdale,	1 00	Mrs. B. F. Putnam,	1 00
— Loomis,	50	Mrs. M. P. Branan,	1 00—10 00
— Miller,	50	<i>Plymouth</i> , Coll. in Pilgrimage ch.	21 59
Bial Cady,	1 00	<i>Rockport</i> , Rev. Wakefield Gale,	2 00
Otis Jones,	1 00	Dea. Jabez R. Gott,	3 50
John Putnam,	1 00—24 00	Josiah Haskell,	4 00
<i>Hopkinton</i> , Samuel B. Wolcott,	5 00	James Haskell,	1 00
Cromwell Gibbs,	50	John W. Hadlock,	50
Aaron Smith,	50	Alfred Giles,	50
Col. A. Ellis,	2 00—8 00	Joshua Webster,	50
<i>Ipswich</i> , in books for Liberia,		Matthew S. Giles,	50
Augustine Heard, Esq.	20 00	John O. Drown,	50
Rev. C. Kimball,	20 00	Ebenezer Blatchford,	50
Individuals,	15 00	George Gott, Jr.	50
Sabbath School. North Soc.	20 00—75 00	Charles Tarr, Jr.	50
<i>Lancaster</i> , A Friend,	5 00	Charles Tarr, 3d,	50
<i>Lee</i> , Rev. T. A. Hall,	50	S. H. Brooks,	50
S. A. Hulbert,	1 00	Dudley Choate,	1 00
George W. Platner,	2 00	Newell Giles,	50
Elizur Smith,	2 00	Dea. Benjamin Giles,	50
A. G. Hulbert,	1 00	Nathaniel Tarr,	50
Henry Sabin,	50	Jabez Rowe,	1 00
Abner Taylor,	1 00	William P. Burns,	1 00
Hubbard Bartlett,	1 00	Daniel Low,	1 00
Cornelius Barlow,	1 00	Reuben Brooks,	1 00
Cash,	50	Polly Rowe,	50
H. Garfield,	1 00	Eben Oakes,	1 00
Beach & Royce,	2 00	Dea. William Whipple,	1 00
Henry Smith,	1 00	Thomas Thompson,	25—24 75
J. Bradley,	1 00	<i>Rockville</i> , Dea. Timo. Walker,	15 00
William Porter,	2 00	A. & E. Clarke,	2 00—17 00
Cash,	50	<i>Salem</i> , Dea. Ebenezer Dodge,	10 00
Cash,	50	Rev. S. M. Worcester,	5 00
E. Bostwick,	50	William Pickman,	10 00
L. Crocker,	1 00	Michael Shepard,	10 00
L. L. Mills,	1 00	N. Appleton,	1 00
Stephen Bradley,	50—21 50	John Dike,	3 00
<i>Mendon</i> , C. C. P. Hastings,	3 00	J. G. Sprague,	3 00
Holland Allbee,	1 50	Miss L. R. Pickman,	3 00

Miss M. T. Pickman,	2 00	Elijah Warren,	2 00
Hon. D. A. White,	5 00	Maj. Eli Warren,	5 00
Nathaniel Silsbee,	5 00	William Knowlton,	2 00
B. P. Chamberlain,	2 00	William Legg,	1 00
John Chapman,	2 00	Mrs. Electa Sanders,	50—43 08
Rev. S. M. Worcester,	10 00—71 00	Ware Village, J. & J. A. Cum-	
Southbridge, Rev. Eber Car-		mings,	1 50
penter,	1 00	Rev. Nahum Gale,	1 00
Dr. C. M. Fay,	1 00	James Tolman & Son,	1 00
S. M. Lane,	2 00	John Tolman,	1 00
M. Leonard,	2 00	S. C. Hudson,	1 00
Luther Amidown,	50	Otis Lane,	2 00
Dea. G. Sumner,	1 00	Dr. Goodrich,	1 00
William Healey,	1 00	Lorenzo Damon,	2 00
A. Healey,	1 00	G. H. Gilbert,	3 50
Harvey Hartshorn,	2 00—11 50	Theodore Field,	2 00
South Hadley, Moses Montague,	1 00	C. A. Stevens,	5 00
G. A. Smith,	1 00—2 00	Avery Clark,	5 00
Stockbridge, Col. Soc. annual collection,	16 84	William Hyde,	5 00
Stowe, Vt. Dr. Daniel Washburn,	10 00	Mrs. C. Woodbury,	25—31 25
Sturbridge, Two Ladies,	3 00	Westborough, Benjamin Fay,	5 00
Dea. Zenas Dunton,	2 00	West Stockbridge, Dea. S. Gates,	1 00
H. & M. Haynes,	2 00	Norman Sheldon,	1 00
C. D. Mason,	25	— Campbell,	50
F. A. Cooper,	25	Benjamin Cone,	10 00
Dea. G. Davis,	1 00	S. C. Buel,	1 00
Dea. E. Holbrook,	50	Russell Smith,	50
Daniel Wight,	2 00	I. H. Spencer,	50
Gen. E. Holbrook,	50	Nathan Shaw,	50
L. Holbrook,	25	Cash,	48—15 43
J. Smith,	50	Williamstown, John Tatlock,	5 00
N. Walker,	50	J. Alden,	3 00
Perez Walker,	5 00	Rev. M. Hopkins, D. D.,	3 00
Dr. W. S. Sanders,	2 00	Mrs. Lucy Whitman,	5 00
Dea. P. Allen,	50	Rev. A. Peters, D. D.,	1 00
Mrs. L. N. Bullock,	1 00	Samuel Bridges,	1 00
Rev. D. R. Austin,	1 00—22 25	Mrs. R. Benjamin,	50
Upton, Dea. William Hale,	5 00	A. Starkweather,	50
Stephen Rawson,	1 00	N. H. Griffin,	2 00
E. B. Fisk,	1 00	E. Sherman,	1 00
Hartford Stoddard,	5 00	B. F. Mather,	1 00
Ruth E. Fisk,	2 00	Levi Smedley, Jr.	2 00
Friend,	1 00	Asahel Foot,	2 00
Lorin Johnson,	1 00	Caleb Brown,	1 00
Mrs. J. Wood,	1 00	S. Southworth,	1 00
Dea. William Fisk,	2 00	— Hosford,	50
Aaron Leland,	1 00	James Meacham,	50
Timothy Leland,	1 00	Cash,	25
Six Individuals,	3 00	Cash,	25
Eight do.	2 48	— Graves,	50
Mrs. Rev. B. Wood,	50	A. Beers,	50
Mrs. Asa Wood,	3 00	S. Bartlett,	1 00—32 50
Her Grandchild,	10	Worcester, C. Washburn,	5 00
Mrs. Dulcinea Rice,	50	C. C. Prentiss,	10 00
E. B. Stoddard,	1 00	Miss Sarah Waldo,	100 00—115 00
D. A. Corey,	1 00		

N. B. The \$30 subscribed in Williamsburgh, and other amounts in other places, not having been paid into the treasury till after April 30, will appear in the next year's account.

LIFE MEMBERS

Of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, by the payment of \$30 or more,
by themselves, or by others on their behalf.

N. B. This list does not include Life Members of the *American* Colonization Society, though their subscriptions may have been obtained by our agency, unless they are also Members of this Society; nor memberships subscribed, but not paid.

Attleborough, Jonathan Bliss.	Harvard, Edward A. Pearson, Esq.
Auburn, Rev. M. G. Wheeler.	Ipswich, Miss Anna Dana.
Beverly, Rev. G. T. Dole.	Rev. Daniel Fitz.
Rev. C. T. Thayer.	Nathaniel Lord, Jr.
Boston, Rev. N. Adams, D. D.	Manchester, Rev. O. A. Taylor.
Hon. Peter C. Brooks.	Medway Village, Capt. John Cole.
*Hon. Martin Brimmer.	Millbury, Simeon Waters, Esq.
Henry Codman.	Monson, Dea. A. W. Porter.
James C. Dunn.	New Bedford, George Howland.
Henry Edwards.	David R. Greene.
Albert Fearing.	Newburyport, Hon. William B. Banister.
Rev. E. S. Gannett, D. D.	Northampton, Lewis S. Hopkins.
James Hayward.	Asahel Lyman, Esq.
Eliphalet Kimball.	Phillipston, Rev. A. E. P. Perkins.
T. R. Marvin.	Quincy, Rev. William P. Lunt.
William Ropes.	Rockport, Rev. Wakefield Gale.
Robert G. Shaw.	Rockville, Dea. Timothy Walker.
W. W. Stone.	Sturbridge, Rev. D. R. Austin.
Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D. D.	Sudbury, Rev. Josiah Ballard.
Cambridge, William Cranch Bond.	Taunton, West, Rev. Alvan Cobb.
Carlisle, Mrs. Eliza Smith.	Uxbridge, Rev. Samuel Clarke.
Dedham, Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, D. D.	Rev. John Orcutt.
East Medway, Dean Walker.	Williamsburgh, Rev. S. C. Wilcox.
Fitchburg, Rev. E. W. Bullard.	Worcester, Hon. J. G. Kendall.
Framingham, Rev. I. N. Tarbox.	Hon. S. Salisbury.
Granby, Samuel Ayres, Esq.	Miss Sarah Waldo.
Harvard, Mrs. M. B. Blanchard.	

APPENDIX.

I.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

IN CONVENTION.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WE the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognize in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

We were every where shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but, they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The Western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy, for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and improve those faculties, which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this Society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by emigration from America, and by accession from native tribes; and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character; but as they have become more frequent and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which, it is supposed, can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of the Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government; and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Liberia, then, are of right, and in fact, a free, sovereign and independent State, possessed of all the rights, powers and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores, nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties, which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression; and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgment of His providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declares that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth; while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion—in the name of the great God, our common Creator, and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

The end of the institution, maintenance and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God, in granting to us

the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, ensure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate, and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign and independent State, by the name of the Republic of Liberia, and do ordain and establish this Constitution, for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent and inalienable rights—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SEC. 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit; and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SEC. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others; all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion, and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SEC. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SEC. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SEC. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law; justice shall be done without denial or delay; and in all cases not arising under martial law, or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SEC. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army and navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have a speedy, public and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself, and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SEC. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SEC. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized, on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause, supported by oath, or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SEC. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts; nor any law rendering any act punishable, in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SEC. 11. All elections shall be by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SEC. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SEC. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SEC. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others.—This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SEC. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State ; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government ; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man ; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SEC. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

SEC. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service,) but by the authority of the legislature.

SEC. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SEC. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great ; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II.—LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

SECTION 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches, a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia, each of which shall have a negative on the other ; and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."

SEC. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows : The county of Montserado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one, and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of

the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years.—The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SEC. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SEC. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers. They shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado county, two from Bassa county, two from Sinoe county, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election, in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes two years, and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SEC. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments, the senators being first sworn, or solemnly affirmed, to try the same impartially and according to law; and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present.—Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic; but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this Constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia, and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants; and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty—afterwards one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SEC. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SEC. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SEC. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections;—if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature with his objections for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the Legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SEC. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III.—EXECUTIVE POWER.

SECTION 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury, attorney general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. He shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses, whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SEC. 2. There shall be a Vice President, who shall be elected in the same manner, and for the same term, as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be President of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the House is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President; and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other person who may by law be charged with the custody of the public monies, shall, before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President or Legislature; and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SEC. 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney General, and Postmaster General, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years from the date of their respective commissions, but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers

whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SEC. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SEC. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SEC. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected. And before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV.—JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The Judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Courts, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

SEC. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this Constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SEC. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

SEC. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SEC. 4. The first election of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of

members of the Council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of Council.

SEC. 5. All other elections of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected, shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives. And if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators and Representatives present shall, in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest number of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SEC. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SEC. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this Constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath or affirmation to him, at any place, and also to the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives, in Convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SEC. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the Constitution or by law.

SEC. 9. Offices created by this Constitution which the circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

SEC. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent; and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise or otherwise.

SEC. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her, by devise or otherwise.

SEC. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless, this Article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

SEC. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate

and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

SEC. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SEC. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this Government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the Legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SEC. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic: Nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the Legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

SEC. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature shall deem it necessary. In which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the Legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of Senators and Representatives.

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, <i>President</i> ,	}	Montserado County.
J. N. LEWIS,		
H. TEAGE,		
BEVERLY R. WILSON,		
ELIJAH JOHNSON,		
J. B. GRIPON,	}	Grand Bassa County.
JOHN DAY,		
A. W. GARDNER,		
AMOS HERRING,		
EPHRAIM TILLER,		
R. E. MURRAY,	County of Sinoe.	

J. W. PROUT, *Secretary of Convention*.

Monrovia, July 29, 1847.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the Governor, that Constitution which in our opinion will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant Republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen, is scarcely to be expected; we trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow citizens will approve our doings, and adopt the Constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising Republic.—We endeavored

carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly feeling which now so happily subsists between the different Counties of this Republic.—We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed is indeed a gigantic one, and the Government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our *Independence*, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast, and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognize our *Independence*.

And that the Flag of this Republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected.

It is our earnest desire that the affairs of this Government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long lost glory, and that Liberia, under the guidance of Heaven, may continue a happy asylum for our long oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula. To secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being, your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the Convention.

SAMUEL BENEDICT, *President*.

FLAG AND SEAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

THE following Flag and Seal were adopted by the Convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality.

Flag: Six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground, covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal: A dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail. The sun just emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plough and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words **REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**, and above the emblems, the national motto, **THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.**

The former seal of the Commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the Republic shall be engraved.

By order of the Convention.

S. BENEDICT, *President*.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF HIS EXCELLENCY, J. J. ROBERTS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, DELIVERED AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE REPUBLIC, JANUARY 3, 1848.

Fellow Citizens: Before I proceed to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed on me, it is with great pleasure I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impressions made on me by the call of my fellow citizens to the station and the duties to which I am now about to pledge myself. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate suffrage of my fellow citizens, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed; but I feel particularly gratified at this evidence of the confidence of my fellow citizens, inasmuch as it strengthens the impression on me that my endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties which devolved on me as chief executive officer of the Commonwealth, during the last six years of our political connection with the American Colonization Society, have been favorably estimated. I nevertheless meet the responsibilities of this day with feelings of the deepest solicitude. I feel, fellow citizens, that the present is a momentous period in the history of Liberia; and I assure you, under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the crisis, I am sensible that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

We have just entered upon a new and important career. To give effect to all the measures and powers of the Government, we have found it necessary to remodel our Constitution and to erect ourselves into an independent State; which, in its infancy, is exposed to numberless hazards and perils, and which can never attain to maturity or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed with affectionate assiduity and guarded by great abilities. I therefore deeply deplore my want of talents, and feel my mind filled with anxiety and uneasiness, to find myself so unequal to the duties of the important station to which I am called. When I reflect upon the weight and magnitude now belonging to the station, and the many difficulties which in the nature of things must necessarily attend it, I feel more like retreating from the responsible position, than attempting to go forward in the discharge of the duties of my office.

Indeed, gentlemen of the Legislature, if I had less reliance upon your co-operation, and the indulgence and support of a reflecting people, and felt less deeply a consciousness of the duty I owe my country, and a conviction of the guidance of an all-wise Providence in the management of our political affairs, I should be compelled to shrink from the task. I, however, enter upon the duties assigned me, relying upon your wisdom and virtue to supply my defects; and under the full conviction that my fellow citizens at large, who, on the most trying occasions, have always manifested a degree of patriotism, perseverance and fidelity that would reflect credit upon the citizens of any country, will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their own free choice.

While I congratulate my fellow citizens on the dawn of a new and more perfect Government, I would also remind them of the increased responsibility they, too, have assumed.

Indeed, if there ever was a period in the annals of Liberia, for popular jealousy to be awakened and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other eras, I know, have been marked by dangers and difficulties which "tried men's souls;" but whatever was their measure, disappointment and

overthrow have generally been their fate. That patriotism and virtue which distinguish men of every age, clime and color, who are determined to be free, never forsook that little band of patriots—the pioneers in this noble enterprise—in the hour of important trial. At a time when they were almost without arms, ammunition, discipline or government—a mere handful of isolated Christian pilgrims in pursuit of civil and religious liberty, surrounded by savage and warlike tribes bent upon their ruin and total annihilation—with “a staff and a sling” only, as it were, they determined in the name of the “Lord of Hosts,” to stand their ground and defend themselves to the last extremity, against their powerful adversary. And need I remind you, fellow citizens, how signally Almighty God delivered them, and how he has hitherto prospered and crowned all our efforts with success.

These first adventurers, inspired by the love of liberty and equal rights, supported by industry and protected by Heaven, became inured to toil, to hardships and to war. In spite, however, of every obstacle, they obtained a settlement; and happily, under God, succeeded in laying here the foundation of a free government. Their attention, of course, was then turned to the security of those rights for which they had encountered so many perils and inconveniencies. For this purpose, a constitution or form of government, anomalous it is true, was adopted.

Under the circumstances, expediency required that certain powers of the government should be delegated to the American Colonization Society, their patrons and benefactors, with the understanding that whenever the colonies should feel themselves capable of assuming the whole responsibility of the government, that institution would resign the delegated power, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

At that time it was scarcely supposed, I presume, that the colonies would advance so rapidly as to make it necessary, or even desirable, on the part of the colonists, to dissolve that connection within the short space of twenty-five years. Such, however, is the case. Necessity has demanded it.

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us in difficulties with British traders, and of consequence with the British government, which could not be settled for the want of certain powers in the government here not provided for in the constitution. Nor indeed would the British government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty—“such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce”—so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments, and the citizens from innumerable inconveniencies.

In view of these facts, to have shrunk from the responsibility, notwithstanding weighty reasons adverse to the measure suggested themselves, would have betrayed a weakness and timidity unbecoming freemen.

Therefore, on full consideration of all the circumstances, it appeared that the period had arrived when it became the duty of the people of Liberia to assume a new position; such a one that foreign powers would consider them an independent nation.

As you are aware, fellow citizens, the independence of Liberia has been the subject of much speculation and some animadversion, both at home and abroad.

1st. We are told that the pecuniary assistance the government here has

hitherto received from the Colonization Society will now cease; and that in a few years we will find ourselves groaning under enormous taxes, or the affairs of the government will be exceedingly embarrassed if not totally paralyzed.

I am persuaded, however, that this conclusion by no means follows. To what extent, if at all, the Society contemplates withdrawing the pecuniary aid hitherto granted to the Commonwealth, from the new government, I am not advised; nor have I any data upon which to form even an opinion in regard to it. We have this assurance, however, from Rev. Mr. McLain, Secretary of the Society: "That the interest of the Board of Directors in all that concerns the people of Liberia, will not be diminished, but rather increased, by the alteration in the present relations subsisting between them and the American Colonization Society; and that it is the intention of the Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore, and on the same high and liberal principles."

We are truly, fellow citizens, under many obligations to the Colonization Society; indeed, it is impossible for one people to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another, than that Society has upon the people of Liberia.

To the wisdom, philanthropy, and magnanimity of the members of the Colonization Society, who for more than a quarter of a century have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of these colonies, and have devoted much of their time and substance to support them, we owe, under God, the political, civil and religious liberty and independence we this day enjoy; and I have no doubt in my own mind but that they will continue to aid us in every way the circumstances of the Society will admit of.

The necessity of imposing additional taxes upon the people to meet the additional expenses of the government consequent upon the new order of things, is very evident; but I confess, fellow citizens, I can see no just grounds of fear that they will be enormous or oppressive.

It is true that for the first few years, in the absence of any foreign assistance, we may find our finances somewhat limited; perhaps barely sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government; but in a country like ours, abounding in a sufficiency of natural resources, which are so easily developed, it is scarcely probable that the government at any time will be greatly embarrassed—certainly not totally paralyzed.

2dly. It has been urged that the numerical strength of the government is yet too small, and that we have not sufficient intelligence, experience, or wealth, to command respect abroad; and that in the event foreign powers should refuse to acknowledge our independence, the embarrassments of the government and its citizens will be increased rather than diminished.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make, and which I believe is pretty nearly correct, the population of Liberia proper, including of course the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic, is now upwards of eighty thousand; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will also be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

While we exceedingly lament the want of greater intelligence and more experience to fit us for the proper or more perfect management of our public affairs, we flatter ourselves that the adverse circumstances under which we so long labored in the land of our birth, and the integrity of our motives, will

plead our excuse for our want of abilities ; and that in the candor and charity of an impartial world, our well-meant, however feeble efforts, will find an apology. I am also persuaded that no magnanimous nation will seek to abridge our rights, or withhold from the Republic those civilities, and "that comity which marks the friendly intercourse between civilized and independent communities," in consequence of our weakness and present poverty.

And with respect to the independence of Liberia, I know it to be a favorable object with many great and good men, both in Europe and in the United States ; and I have great reason to believe, with several European powers, who entertain commercial views.

3d. We are gravely accused, fellow citizens, of acting prematurely and without due reflection in this whole matter, with regard to the probable consequences of taking into our own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of our foreign relations ; and I have also heard it remarked, that fears are entertained by some persons abroad, that the citizens of Liberia, when thrown upon their own resources, will probably not sustain the government, and that anarchy and its attendant ruins will be the result of their independence.

The impression, however, that the people have acted prematurely and without regard to consequences, is evidently erroneous. And, to judge of the future from the past, I have no hesitancy in asserting that the fears entertained respecting the disposition of the people here to insubordination, are totally groundless. No people, perhaps, have exhibited greater devotion for their government and institutions, and have submitted more readily to lawful authority, than the citizens of Liberia ; which indeed must be obvious to every one at all familiar with the past history of these colonies. But to return. It is well known that the object of independence has been agitating the public mind for more than five years, and that every consideration, for and against it, has been warmly discussed.

I am sensible, however, it is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not know why it is they are warm. In such cases, the passion of one is lighted up by the passion of another, and the whole circle is in a flame ; but the mind, in the mean time, is like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it ; in this case it will happen, that when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, all virtuous and patriotic resolutions which it kindled up, will also die with it. As in the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion ; but unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it.

It was the commendation of a certain people, of whom we read in the Bible, that when the gospel was first preached to them, "they searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Those who, without examination, had received it, without examination might also give it up ; but this more "honorable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine, and, embracing it, they gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of Liberia have been equally the objects of attentive consideration. And it affords the most pleasing reflection, that the people of these colonies have not acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence ; but all the measures which have been adopted in regard to it, are strongly marked with great caution and matured deliberation, and will bear the strictest scrutiny of reason and conscience.

The time has been, I admit, when men—without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the African race—might have doubted the success of the Colonization enterprise, and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian State on this coast, composed of and conducted wholly by colored men,—but, fellow citizens, that time has past. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its

pledge, and, I believe in my soul, that the permanency of the Government of the Republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption, and consequent happiness, unfinished ; and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices, from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

And, fellow citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind, other states of the world have advanced to liberty and independence, we cannot but admire and praise that all-gracious Providence, who, by his unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part, compared with other states, led us to this happy stage in our progress towards those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue, and consequent happiness of all free states. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness, without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God's moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember, that as the disbelief of an over-ruling Providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us, in a moment of time, from all the ills and inconveniences, consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

Sufficient notifications of his will are always given, and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of providential favor. Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts, in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have difficulties, sore difficulties yet to contend against, in our progress to maturity, is certain :—And, as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our hands—nay more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved—it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us. The gospel, fellow citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent, and I have the highest reason to believe, that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country ; and to what work more noble could our powers be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, our fellow men, and shedding

abroad over them the light of science and Christianity. The means of doing so, fellow citizens, are in our reach, and if we neglect, or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially affect our happiness in the world to come. And surely, if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow citizens, and do your duty like men; and be persuaded, that Divine Providence, as heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts.

But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity have no effect upon them;—if, neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct, in this and a future state, can move them; then let them be assured, that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish, forever, from their minds, the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being: let them return into slavery, and hug their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

But I am persuaded, fellow citizens, that we have none such among us;—that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself, to the utmost of his abilities, to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests, and the interests of his fellow citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

As to myself, fellow citizens, I assure you I never have been indifferent to what concerns the interests of Liberia—my adopted country—and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of duty, or of justice: the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being, in whose hands we are, who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do, shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

1. *Missionary Statistics.*

During the late anniversaries, the number of communicants in churches in Western Africa has been stated at about 8,000, which is probably very near the truth. In a "Survey of African Missions," published in the *Missionary Herald* about a year since, the following numbers are given.

<i>Missions.</i>	<i>Communicants.</i>
English Church,	1,648
" Wesleyan,	4,425
" Baptist,	79
American Board,	8
" Episcopal,	50
" Baptist,	18
" Methodist,	95
<hr/>	
Total,	6,323

The first two numbers in this table amount to 6,073. Of these, 5,322 are in the British Colonies at Sierra Leone and on the Gambia, and are mostly emancipated slaves, Africans recaptured from slave-ships, or their descendants. If these are counted, we ought also, on the same principle, to add at least 1,500 communicants in the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches in Liberia Proper and Cape Palmas; making a total of 7,823. Allowing for the increase since these numbers were taken, 8,000 seems a fair and moderate estimate.

Of this whole number, 7,823, no less than 6,822 were in the British and American Colonies of emancipated slaves and recaptured Africans; leaving 1,001 for all other places. Of these, 751 are in the British settlements between Cape Palmas and the Bight of Benin; all connected with the Wesleyan missions. All these stations are off-shoots of the Wesleyan mission at Sierra Leone. A considerable part of these communicants are recaptured Africans, who were carried to Sierra Leone, were converted there, and have since removed to this coast. This 751, added to 6,822, make 7,573, out of 7,853, to whose conversion Colonization has contributed.

Of the remaining 250, there are, according to the table, 50 connected with the Episcopal mission at Cape Palmas, and 18 with the Baptist and 95 with the Methodist missions in Liberia Proper. These amount to 163, leaving 87 still to be accounted for.

Of these 87, there are 8 in connection with the mission of the American Board at the Gaboon River. This mission was commenced at Cape Palmas, early in 1835. In April, 1837, it had "four or five" candidates for admission to the communion. In 1838, eight were admitted. At the close of 1839, it had eleven native communicants. At the close of 1840, it had twelve. During the next year, one was added. In 1842, the mission was removed to the Gaboon, taking with it "six or eight" of its best pupils from

Cape Palmas. July 21, 1843, a church was organized, containing seven native members, most of whom were from Cape Palmas, and, so far as appears, none of them natives of the Gaboon country. According to the last Report of the Board, the native converts from among the Gaboon people were only two. If both had become communicants, which is not stated, then six out of the eight are indebted to colonization; and considering where the mission had its origin and gained its first strength, the other two may very well acknowledge a similar obligation.

The remaining 79 are, or were, in connection with the English Baptist mission at Clarence, on the Island of Fernando Po. This mission was commenced Jan. 1, 1841. In 1844, it was strengthened by the arrival of 42 colored people from the British West Indies, of whom eight were male assistant missionaries. Whether any of these were counted, in making up the number of 79 communicants, we are not informed. At the close of 1845, this mission had established three stations on the opposite coast of the continent, but reports no communicants at either of them. Early in 1846, the mission was suppressed by the Spanish authorities of Fernando Po.

From these facts, the reader can judge how much missions have accomplished in Western Africa, independently of colonization.

2. *White Missionaries and Colored Missionaries.*

The Rev. J. B. Benham, Superintendent of Methodist Missions in Liberia, wrote to the Corresponding Secretary of his Society, April 1, 1847:—

“Of the thirteen white missionaries who have labored in connection with the Liberia Conference, six have died, six have returned to America, and one remains here: whereas, of the thirty-one colored missionaries who have labored in the same field, only seven have died natural deaths; one was drowned, one murdered, two expelled, one located, three have been discontinued, one is superannuated, one is supernumerary, and fourteen remain in active service. * * * * * With the exception of Brother Seys, Brother Burton, and Brother Goheen, the white missionaries have been able to do little more than take of themselves.”

Some parts of the coast are less fatal to the white man; while others are decidedly more so.

3. *The best Fields for Missionary Labor.*

About the time of the removal of the mission of the American Board from Cape Palmas, the Episcopal Mission, being involved in “difficulties with the Colony,” began to withdraw its efforts from the immediate neighborhood of the Colonial settlements, and to expend them on stations in the more remote part of the Maryland territory, and even beyond it. In 1843, their more distant stations were broken up by wars; but were afterwards resumed. In 1847, the missionaries received instructions to withdraw from their remoter stations, and concentrate their labors within the territory of the Colony. The Rev. J. Payne, in his reply, dated October 26, 1847, says:—

“The Mission are unanimously of the opinion, that Cavalla, Cape Palmas, and Fishtown, or Rocktown, are the points on which the energies of the mission should be concentrated. It is a consideration which has long oppressed us all, that besides the opening for usefulness in the Colony, (where

within eight months the number of our communicants has doubled,) the native population of Cape Palmas, the largest in the Grebo tribe, has been left for six years without any effort, deserving the name, having been made for their conversion."

The places mentioned by Mr. Payne are all within the Colonial territory.

4. *Value of Colonies, as furnishing Missionary Laborers.*

The Rev. J. Payne, in the letter just quoted, writes as follows:—

"We fully agree with your Committee, that one or more of our number should, as soon as practicable, give our attention to the education of the most promising native scholars in our schools, with a view of training them for teachers and ministers. While, however, we think there are materials in our schools for preparing several teachers of moderate abilities within the coming few years, we are of opinion that there are only two, or at most three, of whose fitness for the ministry, even in Africa, there is any reasonable hope. * * * While, however, the prospect of a native ministry appears to be remote, we beg leave respectfully to suggest, that the attainment of our great desideratum, a ministry inured to the climate, is not so; and in our opinion, it is to the Colony at Cape Palmas that we are to look for the chief means of attaining our end. * * * It is true, the character of the Colonists is not equal to that of those from whom they have received the blessings which they enjoy; for how should it be? But, at the most moderate estimate, it is a generation in advance of the heathen; and, if this be so, then we should conclude *a priori*, that such instruments as we need could be raised up just so much earlier from amongst the former than the latter.

"Now it so happens, that actual experience has justified such anticipations. When our primary school was opened at Mt. Vaughan, according to the original design of the mission, approved by the Foreign Committee, a small number of Colonist youths were taken, in connection with many natives, to be qualified for teachers. In consequence of difficulties with the Colony, as it is understood, (I was in the United States at the time,) all the Colonist boys, with one exception, were dismissed. This one is Mr. Joseph Gibson, who, during the past six years, has sustained the school at this station, now acts in the capacity of lay reader at Mt. Vaughan on Sundays, is prosecuting the study of the Latin language under me, and is altogether a promising young man. Of the many native scholars connected with Mt. Vaughan school, amounting in all to nearly one hundred, not one male is now a teacher in the mission. * * *

"In view of these facts, we would earnestly urge, for the consideration and action of the Foreign Committee, the expediency of embracing, in the operations of Mt. Vaughan, when that station shall be again occupied, a High School, exclusively for the education of a small number of promising Colonist boys, to be selected by the Mission for that purpose."

5. *Influence of Pious Families on the Heathen.*

The Superintendent of Methodist Missions, in remarking on a general revival, in which there had been a "sweeping reformation" at Caldwell, 52 new members at Millsburgh, "many souls converted" at New Georgia, and native converts in several other places, says:—

"Though some of our native converts are *right out of the bush*, yet many of them are individuals who have been residing in the families of the Colonists, have been taught by them the knowledge of the Christian's God, have witnessed their pious examples, which have proved to them saviors of life unto life, and owe, in a great measure, their salvation to them as instruments

in the hand of God. Away, then, with the notion that the Colonization scheme does nothing for the native African—that the missionary enterprise is confined to the emigrants, and that the natives benefit nothing by it. Let me stop the mouths of these gainsayers by proclaiming the names of Johnson, Williams, Davis, Devany, Phillips, Tulliver, White, Willis, &c., American Colonists, in whose families native boys and girls have grown up under godly instruction and pious example, and are now converted to Christianity, and members of Christian churches in Liberia.”

6. *Conversion of Recaptured Africans.*

Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, U. S. Agent for Recaptured Africans, wrote from Monrovia, October 27, 1847:—

“The change which has been effected in the condition of the captives by the Pons, since they were landed at this place on the 16th of December, 1845, is truly gratifying to the feelings of humanity and Christian benevolence. When I received these poor, naked, degraded and starving creatures from on board the slave-ship, although I felt satisfied that their condition in Liberia would be infinitely better than it ever had been, and better than it would have been if the vessel had not been captured, yet I must confess that I had some fears respecting the future comfort and welfare of so large a number of grossly ignorant and deeply degraded human beings, thus suddenly thrown into this community. Little did I think that, in less than two years, so great a change would be produced in their social, intellectual, and moral condition. Little did I think that, in so short a time, most of them would be able to understand and appreciate the transcendent blessings of the gospel of Christ, and many of them be earnestly engaged in seeking the pearl of great price. Little did I think that I should so soon witness satisfactory evidence of heart-felt conviction of sin, in many of these victims of slavery and degradation, and see tears of penitential sorrow streaming down their cheeks, or hear the pleasing story of gratitude and praise bursting from the full hearts of those who have experienced the renovating influences of the Holy Spirit. But so it is; and so I trust the benign influences of our holy Christianity may continue to spread throughout the length and breadth of this vast peninsula, until all the scattered tribes of Africa shall be disenfranchised, redeemed, and brought home to God.”

7. *Recent Additions to the Churches.*

The baptism of 52 at Millsburgh, by the Methodists, has been already mentioned. At Caldwell, Dec. 19, 1847, 43 were baptized, of whom 33 were recaptives of the Pons, of whom Dr. Lugenbeel speaks in the letter just quoted. There have been additions at most of the other Methodist stations, and to the Presbyterian church at Monrovia. The Liberia Herald of February 25, 1848, has the following article:—

“*Additions to Baptist churches in the last five months.*—Fifty-one have been baptized by F. S. James; 61 by H. Teage; 8 by John Day, and 2 by A. P. Davis. Of these, 47 have been added to the church in Monrovia; 37 to the church in New Georgia; 8 to the church in Louisiana; 21 to the church in Virginia; 2 to the church at Bassa Cove; and 8 to the church in Bexley; making a total of 123.”

CORRECTION.

In the Appendix to the Sixth Report, pp. 33, 34, it was stated that Gen. Mercer learned the existence of the doings of the Virginia legislature in secret session in 1801—1805, “after the Society was formed.” This is incorrect. He obtained that information and imparted it to some of the projectors of the Society, *after* they had determined to form it, but *before* its actual formation.